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pation of the children varies according to their sex. The girls from about ten on help their mothers in the gardens. The boys wander around the village, playing and taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. If there is any fishing, they stand about on the fringe looking on, as they do also in housebuilding or any other occupation. A slightly older boy assists his father in work connected with the gardens, when his help is needed.

The women, and men too, if they have gone to the gardens, return to the village in the early afternoon, usually about two o'clock. This varies, and occasionally they come back at noon, or sometimes late afternoon, about four or five o'clock. They arrive back hot, dusty, and tired, and immediately bathe in the sea, coming out cleansed and refreshed. Both men and women wear their loin-cloths when they go into the sea and put on dry ones when they come out. There are no separate bathing-places for the sexes, but as a matter of practice the two sexes never bathe very near each other at the same time. After bathing they perform the toilet of the day, combing their hair and powdering it with white lime. If they feel so inclined they may add some facial decoration; painting a yellow ring around one eye is a favourite style. Then, if they are hungry, there is a piece of cold baked taro in the house, left over from the day before.

Now come the preparations for the evening meal, mostly the woman's task and usually done communally by the members of one hamlet or two neighbouring ones. Occasionally, if they have returned late from the gardens, the cooking is done individually. The women scrape the taro and the men bring in the firewood and the leaves and make the *liga*, a pile of hot stones, in which the food is baked. If it is an ordinary meal and no fish or animal is to be baked, the men are not very busy and look after the babies, or stroll about chatting with each other. The women work seriously,

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852 Most of the morning is spent in preparing the taro. The child's mother is with the other women from Ambwa working on the taro. The baby is lying on a bed inside the house, and beside him lies his mother's father, who is patting him soothingly and affectionately.

852 252 The women and little girls old enough to be of assistance are busy scraping the skin from the taro with their shell implement (*tsip*), halving them, sprinkling them with shredded coconut and water, and then wrapping eight or ten of them in large leaves, securing the whole bundle by tying it with a piece of hardy vine. At the same time the men make the fires, bring in the leaves for the wrapping of the taro, shred the coconut, prepare a pig, fish, and turtle to be baked. The busiest of all the men are the infant's mother's brother, his grandfather, and his father. It is his mother's brother, or sometimes his maternal grandfather, who is master of ceremonies.

About noon all the preparations are completed. The bundles of taro, fish, pig, and turtle have all been put in the *liga*, a pile of hot stones serving as a bake oven. There are four *liga*, one near each group of women who have been preparing the taro. Many of the women now go in and look at the child. They fondle it, crow over it, and then pass out 852 521 of the house and sit down at the place where they had previously been working. Now they take their ease. A few doze, others chatter. An old woman from Langania tells how one of her children is very skilful at getting crabs for her. Another one laughs as she tells how her child, who is about three or four years old, said he was an old man. Then they talk a bit about the new baby for whom this feast is being held; particularly about his good health. While they talk they munch a taro which has been baking 852 521 252 separately on one of the little fires which are always kept burning, apart from the *liga*. One woman has just lifted a taro from the fire, and beats it with a stick (always done to

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taro which is not cooked in the bundles), and as she beats she tells how she did not want her son to marry because she thought he was too young, but how he did marry anyway. She appears amused with the incident, and tells it rather as a good story, showing no evidence of chagrin.

After about two hours or so of this lazy conversation, fourteen Ambwa women appear in the open clearing in front of the house where the infant now lies. They are gaily decorated with *kerapo* leaves stuck in their hair and in their armbands (*biuk*). Seven of the women belong to the Eagle moiety and seven to the Hawk, and they now do the *Kanduro* dance. It is a dance done in two-line formation; one line is made up of the Hawk women, and the other of the Eagle women. One Eagle woman (same moiety as the infant) leads the others in. She beats a bamboo pole with a stick and stands in front of the two lines of women and addresses the Hawk women in an angry tone: "You Hawk women have come. Now, we have no women. All the Eagle women have died. We have no Eagle men here either." This, I am told, is not true, and everyone knows it. It is just "talk play," a kind of polite depreciation, and is customary at this rite.

Then follows the dance. Maerabit, from Lesu, as usual plays the part of the jester, and rushes on the scene beating a drum, circles around the dancers, and goes through many absurd antics, maintaining a serious countenance at the same time. The effect is quite droll. She has a real sense of gaiety and rhythm in her movements. The audience greets her antics with loud shouts of appreciative laughter.

When the dance is over another group of women of the Hawk moiety, married to men of the clan to which the infant belongs, come on the scene, each carrying some food utensil. One by one they make a speech about the abilities of their husbands as food providers. One woman holds up a basket, saying: "My husband gets much food at

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himself, stands up and says a spell with the *tsil* leaf in his hand. The spell contains the same idea that he must rid himself of the bad effect of having eaten with pregnant women, and his washing is a rite to attain this end.

Now he gets back into the canoe and paddles on. Again he tries to catch the shark with the dead fish as a bait, and this time he succeeds. The shark comes through the loop, which the man pulls tightly, then he knocks the fish on the head with the *gula*, or thick stick. The shark is now dead. The man paddles back, and landing on the beach blows his conch shell to announce that he has returned with the shark. Later, it is wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*, and then there is a feast, as usual, in the cemetery. The shark is considered very choice food.[1]

COOKING

Cooking is an occupation of prime importance, and considered as such by the community. Although the men participate in several tasks connected with it, and although they prepare certain foods, it is essentially the women's work. It is usually done communally, and always so before ritual events, such as birth, initiation, marriage, death feasts, and the numerous minor ritual feasts. The group may range from ten to two hundred women, perhaps those of one or two hamlets, or all the women of several villages. Besides the communal cooking before ritual feasts, there is also the frequent communal cooking by the women of a hamlet, or sometimes two neighbouring ones. This is the normal way

[1] Shark-fishing is not being practised at present in the district where I lived. Farther up the coast shark-fishing expeditions are still being held, but I was unable to get there. The above account was given to me by the man who was known as the magician for shark-fishing and who had formerly led expeditions from Lesu. It was supplemented and checked with other accounts.

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for the evening meal to be prepared, but sometimes, particularly if a woman has come home from the gardens rather late in the afternoon, she may, assisted by her daughter, cook separately from the others. This appears to be a matter of choice, and is dependent upon the time of the day and other conditions, such as how tired she is, and how the rest of the women feel.

Each hamlet has its recognized communal cooking-place, which is generally an open clearing in the centre. In addition many of the hamlets have a cook-house for use in rainy weather. This house is without walls and is merely a bamboo fence two or three feet high enclosing a space with a thatched roof above. For a big intervillage rite, a large cook-house is erected specially for the occasion. The non-communal cooking is done either in the woman's own house or in front of it.

The manner of preparing the food is the same whether it is done singly or in a group. All food is baked. The men share in the preparations by making the *liga*, a pile of hot stones in which the baking is done; by bringing in the leaves in which the food is to be wrapped, and which serves to cover the *liga*. They also uncover, or level, the *liga* when the food has been baked. The young boys assist in this work.

On a stroll through the hamlets in mid-afternoon of an average day one sees a group of women and girls sitting on the ground surrounded by their baskets, bunches of taro, bundles of leaves, and hollow bamboo stems filled with water (or discarded bottles from some plantation). The men will have brought firewood from the bush, made a fire, and heaped up stones on top of the burning wood. A fire is usually started with a burning log from another fire, but if necessary two pieces of wood are rubbed together to produce fire. A few men and boys will be bringing in leaves for the final covering of the *liga*, and if there is fish or pig, the men will be off on one side preparing it to be baked. The father or

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grandfather, or a boy of ten or so, will be looking after the babies. It is not unusual at this time to see a man lying on the sand playing with his child or grandchild, or a young boy walking about with an infant sister or brother on his back. The mother of the child stops her work only to nurse the child if it cries.

The woman industriously prepares the taro. First she cuts the taro off the stalk with a sharp shell called *tsip*, which comes from Tabar, and piles the taro on the ground close to where she is sitting. Then she cuts off the top so that the taro is flat and scrapes all the skin off with the *tsip*. The result is a smoothly scraped, clean taro. The tops and skin are put aside in a basket to be fed to the pigs later. Sometimes the taro are left whole, and at other times halved. They are wrapped in leaves, the outer layer consisting of large leaves, and inside of this are smaller ones, and then another large leaf. About ten taro are laid on the leaves, a little water sprinkled over them, and the outer leaves wrapped around them. This bundle (*til*) is tied with the *tua* vine. Sometimes shredded coconut is sprinkled over the taro, and the bundle is then called *ginu* (the name for coconut is *nu*). As the woman finishes each bundle it is placed in a row on the ground beside her. By the time the taro is all prepared (in a few hours) the stones are hot. Then the men level the *liga* with long bamboo poles, shoving the hot stones to one side. The women place the bundles of taro on the bottom layer of hot stones, and the men, still using the bamboo poles, cover them with more hot stones. After all the stones have been placed over the taro, a large mass of leaves is put over the pile, and it is smothered with sand. It is left like this for several hours, sometimes overnight if there is no hurry for the food. When the taro is to be removed, it is again the work of the men to level the *liga* and take away the hot stones with their bamboo poles. Each woman remembers just where she has placed her bundles of taro when she removes them.

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252 The stones are put in a heap and saved for the next cooking-time.

After the taro is all in the *liga*, the women sweep the ground on which they have been sitting, throwing all the debris into the sea. When the place is spick and span, they sit down and a leisurely sociable time begins for them. In the meantime a few loose taro are being baked separately in little fires. When baked these are again scraped, beaten with a stick, washed in the sea, and left there for about half an hour. The women munch them as they sit and chat while the big bundles are in the *liga*. They are relaxed, and there is lightness and ease as they casually exchange the latest gossip, tell a joke, or chat about the doings of their children. On one such occasion much merriment was caused by Maianbaum playfully stealing a pawpaw from Kuta. The two women laughingly pretended to fight over it, and Maianbaum succeeded in retaining the fruit. Then she forced Kuta to take some of it from her. All the women laughed heartily as they looked on.

252 571 The communal cooking, whether it is by the women of a hamlet or of two villages, is a distinctly sociable occasion. It is the get-together time for the women. In the gardens they work alone, or with one or two members of their immediate family. Their meals are held with the family. But when they cook, that is the time they meet the other women of the community, and when the preparations are finished, they have the opportunity to gossip, chat, and lightly amuse themselves. It might be compared to the old-fashioned quilting bee of our civilization, which was likewise a sociable occasion, except that the cooking is more frequent—almost every day.

252 There are several other ways of preparing taro, although the one described is the most common. Another kind is called *tsoki*. The skin of the taro is scraped off in the same manner as described above, then the scraped taro is grated

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on the edge of a sharp-pointed stick into a kind of trough, made of the hollowed branch of a coconut tree. The result is as if the taro was put through a coarse meat-grinder. Then the taro is kneaded or worked with the hands and mixed with water and shredded coconut, as if it were a batter. Two layers of long leaves are laid on the ground, shredded coconut put on them, and on top of that the well-kneaded batter patted smooth with the *tsip* (shell). It is the men who do the wrapping in the leaves. When the bundle is ready it is baked in the *liga*.

The coconut for this or any other taro may be shredded by either men or women.[1] The outside skin of the coconut is removed, and it is cut in half and the liquid drunk or used to sprinkle over taro. The half coconut is then rubbed on a pointed stick, the shredded coconut falling into a trough in which the lower end of the pointed stick rests.

Another method is to lay the scraped taro, halved, on banana leaves, sprinkle shredded coconut over it, with a little water; put another layer of taro, coconut, and water, and so on for several layers. The whole is then wrapped in leaves, tied with vine, and baked in the *liga*.

A specially prepared taro is called *Rota*, and is used at birth rites and sometimes at mortuary rites, when it has been prepared in advance. The inside of the taro is scooped out, and the resulting baked taro is very hard and brittle. It is hung up in the house to dry and kept there for many months, and it appears to last indefinitely. Not all women know how to prepare it, and the few who are skilled at it are known for this skill and acquire prestige from it. Everyone will tell you that Kuta knows how to prepare the *Rota*, and when she mentions it there is pride in her voice.

Another way of preparing the taro is to mix it with the

[1] Taro is never scraped by men. They do not know how to do it, and it is unheard of for any of them to attempt it. This is one of the few absolutely rigid customs.

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252 long red fruit *mismis*. The fruit is first baked in the *liga*, then it is taken out and, when cooled, the red juice is squeezed out with the hand and put on banana leaves. In the meantime the scraped taro has been shredded on the point of a sharp stick, and is now mixed with the red juice. The result is similar to a cake or bread dough. It is then wrapped in the banana leaves and baked in the *liga*. The baked product is called *patambia*, and is considered something of a delicacy and much enjoyed.

*Tsoandua* is still another kind of baked taro. After the taro is scraped deep ridges are made in it, and shredded coconut put in the ridges. Six or eight such taro are wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*. Only a few women know how to prepare the taro this way, and they are very proud of their skill. At preparations for one communal feast, when about forty women were present, only three of them knew how to prepare the *tsoandua*. One of the three prepared some of it for another woman. It did not seem to occur to the latter that she might learn how to do it.

Another kind is called *kurapa*. This method is used for specially long taro, which are scraped, halved, and the inside scooped out. The inside is beaten with a stick until it is mealy, mixed with shredded coconut, and put back into the two halves of the hollowed taro, which are then stuck together. Several similarly prepared taro are wrapped together in large leaves and baked in the *liga*. The *kurapa*, while much enjoyed, is not prepared very frequently.[1]

Another occasional way of preparing the taro is to scrape it, then cover the scraped taro with pawpaw and shredded coconut, all of which is wrapped in the leaves and baked in the *liga*. It is interesting to note that there are at least eight methods[2] of preparing taro. Only the first one described is

[1] This is like one of our ways of baking a potato, when the inside is also scooped up, beaten, and put back in the shell.

[2] This number I observed and was able to find out about.

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in common use. One, the *tsoki*, has a ritual use. The others are more laborious and are prepared only infrequently. Those who can prepare them are known throughout the community for their skill, and cooking is one way in which a woman gains distinction over her neighbours, just as her husband wins prestige through his skill in fishing or house-building.

Yams are scarce in this part of the island, but when available they are first scraped free of the dirt (but not of skin) and baked in the *liga*. There is no wrapping in leaves. After baking the skin is scraped off and the inside eaten.

Cooking fish is the men's job. The man who catches the fish cleans it of the scales and prepares it for cooking. Long leaves are laid over the fire for a few minutes to dry and to make them "strong." Then the leaves are placed side by side and fastened together with small twigs about one-half inch in length.

The fish are wrapped up in this leaf covering, making an oblong bundle tied at one end with the *tua* vine, then baked in the *liga*.

This work is done by the men while the women are preparing the taro, the two groups sitting a little distance from each other.

All fish are cooked in the same manner, but sometimes, if there are only one or two small fish, they will be laid on a small fire and so cooked.

Small crabs collected by the women and girls from the reef are fastened together by them in a round mass and baked in the *liga*.

Mussel shells (*gem*) are also collected by the women from the reef and the insides taken out, wrapped in leaves, and baked in the *liga*.

*Pigs*

A pig is killed by tying its snout so that the animal cannot breathe. The entrails are taken out, washed in the sea, and

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later wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga* separately. The pig is hung on a pole over a fire to be singed, and a few pieces of burning wood are put inside to make it dry. Later it is taken away from the fire and may be kept like this for several days, awaiting distribution at a feast. When prepared for eating it is wrapped in leaves, securely tied, and baked in the *liga*. There is no other method of cooking pig. It is considered excellent food and is essential for a mortuary and *malanggan* feast.

A type of phalanger occasionally caught in the bush is baked in the same manner as pigs. The teeth are first extracted, however, and used to make a necklace.

*Turtle*

Turtle is not a part of the everyday diet, but is caught occasionally and usually eaten at a feast. It is always cooked by the men. The turtle is laid on its back and its underneath cover (*bungbunga*) cut off and the entrails taken out. These are wrapped in banana leaves, sprinkled liberally with the blood of the turtle, and baked in the *liga*. It is eaten by the men, although not taboo to women. The men like it too much to give it to the women. The back shell (*kukulsun*) is smeared inside with *lest* (lime) and left in the sun to dry. It is used later to make the scoops (*polok*) for eating coconut and to ornament the *kepkep*.

*Beta—Sea-worm*

The catching of this worm which comes up out of the sea once a year has already been described. Its cooking is quite an intricate process. First the long *mismis* leaves are sewed together, as in the preparation for cooking fish. On top of the *mismis* leaves is placed a banana leaf, the little *cement* leaves, shredded coconut, scraped taro halved, then the *beta*. On top of it are put more *cement* leaves, more *beta*, more shredded coconut, another layer of taro, then again *beta*,

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*cement* leaves, coconut, taro, and so on for four layers. The outer leaves are then wrapped around it to make a bundle, which is tied with vine and baked in the *liga*. All the preparations for the cooking of the *beta*, except the scraping of the taro, is done by the men. It is eaten by both sexes and much enjoyed.

In the past snakes were also eaten. They were killed by beating them on the head, and then cut up, wrapped in leaves, and baked in the *liga*, and were considered good food. To-day, however, it would be considered dangerous to eat a snake, because of the part it played in the Garden of Eden story, as told by the missionaries. In some vague and unexplainable way the snake is now considered a taboo food, even among unmissionized natives. They may not have accepted any of the Christian morals or tenets, or even know much about them, but the snake story they take seriously, and it is the snake which stands out as a prominent part of the Fall of Man.

*Other Cooking*

There is only one leaf, *mutil*, resembling a spinach leaf, which is cooked. Recently some of those who have worked on a plantation have brought home with them a saucepan, and the leaf is boiled, together with the milk of the coconut and the shredded coconut. In the past it was wrapped in other leaves and baked in the *liga*.

Unripe bananas are buried in the sand for a week. They are left on the stalk and laid in a trench-like hole on the sandy beach and then covered over with sand. The result is a very soft squashy banana, preferred by natives to the raw one. It is prepared in this way for a feast, but on ordinary occasions the raw banana is eaten.

Pawpaws are usually eaten raw, although they are sometimes baked in the *liga*. Other fruits are eaten raw.

In the past these natives were cannibals, but they ate only

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437 morning they go to their gardens. Some find them intact, while in others the pigs have wrought havoc, as was feared. 484 They settle into the accustomed routine, and are obviously glad to be back.

437 Two days after the return to Penguli there is a feast to mark the occasion of cleaning the little house in which the *malanggan* was made. The chips of wood and other debris are carefully swept out of the house. There is sago for the feast, and the men are busy preparing it, while the women scrape the taro which will accompany it. The sago is shredded [252] until it is mealy, mixed with water and made into a loaf, similar to bread. It is then wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*. At the feast Ongas, the Luluai and orator, makes [537] a speech recounting all the past events—the making of the *malanggan*, taking it to Logagon, the rites there, and the payment for it, and now this marks the conclusion of the rites.

438 Almost three months have elapsed since Poinbi first came 556 to Penguli and made arrangements for the making of the *malanggan*. There has been much ritual dancing and feasts. Poinbi and his group have expended a great deal of wealth. He and his community are poor now, but he has honoured his dead relatives and acquired much prestige. Those who have helped him have also acquired prestige. The acquisition of the right to make the *malanggan*, which they bought from Palou, is also a financial asset, for eventually they will resell the right to make this *malanggan* to someone else and get all the wealth back which they have now laid out. Palou and his associates have lost the right to make the *malanggan*, but are rich. Eventually they too will use this wealth to buy the right to make a new *malanggan*.

438 A social and ceremonial undertaking has set a very large amount of wealth into circulation. The economic transaction has been on a communal scale, with two men acting as leaders, and the principle of everything (service or material

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527 After death feasts ..... 32
Nineteen of this number were connected with the display of malanggons.
574 Circumcision rites[8] ..... 8
In payment for economic services ..... 5
These were to repay workers who had built a house or made a garden fence.
Women's feasts ..... 11
Those at which the women eat or where the food is distributed to them. The latter is the more frequent occurrence. The men do not eat at the women's feasts. They may be further analyzed as follows: birth, 4; pregnancy, 1; circumcision, 1; menstruation, 1; marriage, 1; malanggon,[9] 1; end of dance rehearsals, 1; payment to women who had helped a sick woman of opposite moiety, 1.
Miscellaneous feasts ..... 20
These are subdivided as follows: abundance of some particular food, 9; baby cutting his first tooth, 1; giving of name to infant, 1; recovery from illness, 2; settlement of quarrel, 1; because infant is strong, 1; for possible mates of infant, 1; end of folk-tale telling period, 1; for my departure, 1; for my servant's departture, 1; just sociability, 1.

At the far end of the village, other minor feasts probably occurred which I did not record or witness. The number of people attending ranged from twenty to five hundred.

## Preparations for a Feast

574 252 162 Preparing for a feast is a communal enterprise. Early in the morning of the feast, or the day before if it is a big one, the women of the hamlet, village, or several villages, depending on the size of the feast, bring their taro to the communal cooking ground or cook house.[10] They and the girls old enough to be of assistance immediately begin the work of scraping and preparing the taro to be baked. Their only implement is a shell called 'sip, with which they scrape the skin from the taro. The scraped taro is then wrapped in leaves. The women are quite ingenious in cooking, and there are a number of ways in which this general method is varied. Shredded coconut may be added, or the taro may be cut in a certain manner, or the inside may be scooped out, etc. The women sit in a group on the ground, working busily and seriously. A few men are off on one side tending to the liga, a pile of hot stones on which the food is to be baked. A fire is made to heat the

[8] At these circumcision rites malanggons were displayed. So the rites really had a double function—mortuary and circumcision.

[9] Men ate at this feast, too, but separately from the women.

[10] The principal foods are taro, fish, crabs, pigs, bananas, coconuts, and pawpaws, supplemented by yams, sago, turtle, etc. Taro is the staple article of diet, and its preparation is the main work both of family meals and feasts.

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ing rites were given bundles of baked sago. The chief called out their names and the sago was given to them. This "marked" them as those who would sell pig for the future rites. The names of some women were called, and when the feast was over they came up to the cemetery to get their sago.

### Gift Exchange

The feast is not only the time for payments and arrangements for future trading, but also for gifts. Usually not all the pigs are consumed at the feasts, and large portions, a head or half the body, will be presented to some one present. Sometimes this is a return gift for a present of half a pig which had been made six months ago, or perhaps it is a new gift to a man, who will return it at another feast. The gifts are always made ceremonially, the name of the recipient being called, and then the piece of pig is handed to him by one of the "waiters."

### Discussion

At the end of the feast other matters of importance and current interest are discussed. If dance rehearsals are in progress, one man will make a speech exhorting the men to dance well and to practice rigorously. Or the chief may map out plans for a coming big feast, that is, when they will bring in the bananas to be buried in the sand,[13] when they will fish, what day the women will prepare the taro, etc. Or perhaps, as happened at one feast I attended, the weather was the subject of discussion. The rainy season (time of northwest monsoon) had begun, and for several weeks there had been a deluge of rain. Everyone was disgusted at having to slide about in the wet mud, and much more serious was the threatened danger to the taro crops. After the men had finished eating, the old and rather famous rain magician, Bullagot, made a long speech, encouraging the men and telling them that the excessive amount of rain was due to the magician of a neighboring village, but that he would counteract this by making his own magic to stop the rain. He was followed by other old men, all making speeches of a similar nature, exhorting people not to be downhearted, saying that Bullagot would stop the rain. The younger men listened and were impressed. It was not unlike a Biblical scene where the ancient prophets encouraged the people in a time of famine or other hardship.

Occasionally a concluding speech is made, although this does not happen very frequently. At the feast to make arrangements for buying the pigs for the future malanggon rites, the chief made a concluding speech, during

[13] Bananas are buried in the sand on the beach about a week previous to a feast. The resulting banana is very soft and squashy.